1. Dube AW17 Telugu AW17

623

[For an account of legal cases heard by the village council see category 116. pp. 203-210.]

[Because of the diversity of functions of the Village Panchayats, data filed in category 623 have been limited to that concerning the Panchayats which cannot readily be filed in other categories. Additional data will be found in the specific functional categories, as indicated below, and in the entire source, 26: Rao, AW1 India, category 116. --Analyst]

623 summaries of Panchayat functions and optional duties; administrative functions; membership, selection, and meetings; number and geographical distribution; attitude toward, supervision of, and distribution of authority.

217 provision of libraries
311 forest panchayats
312 water control
364 village sanitary boards
443 market facilities and control
465 panchayat salaries
564 caste membership of panchayats
624 local officials
642 legal basis and origins of panchayats
647 panchayat state officials
651 income through taxes
652 panchayat budgets and expenses
653 contributions to public works
658 maintenance of public buildings
666 panchayat elections
687 panchayat political offenses
692 panchayat judicial powers

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in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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623 The panchayat or village council consists of the headmen of all the major communities living within the village and in addition several other rich and influential persons. It necessarily includes the headman of the village and the three organizers of village ritual. In May 1951 the *panchayat* consisted of twenty-seven persons: four village officers (one Deshmukh and three Ganadis), seventeen heads of different communities resident within the village, and six other rich and influential persons. Of the seventeen heads of different communities, eight are inactive members of the village council. They only attend its meetings on formal and ceremonial occasions and not when it meets to consider ordinary business. Two of these eight inactive members do not attend because they complain that the prejudice of some of the members prevents due consideration being given to their views and hence their participation in the deliberations would be useless. Others do not attend because they are 'too occupied with their own affairs' and do not want 'to get involved in local politics'. However, representatives of these six persons stand for the community in the meetings of the *panchayat*. The six members from the category of rich and influential persons are: V.P.R.—a substantial Reddi cultivator; B.R.—a rich toddy-tapper; N.B.—a Madiga cultivator; K.M.—a Muslim pensioner and brother of an influential village official; K.G.—a well-to-do shepherd; and B.N.—a substantial Mala cultivator.

Thus the *panchayat* of the village is formally composed of the important village officers, the heads of various castes and religious groups in the village and a few other people of influence. But it has been observed that, for one reason or the other, many of the caste heads do not attend its meetings. In most cases they do not have the necessary personality traits and do not mind if someone else volunteers to represent them. More talkative and influential persons gradually replace such inactive members, first temporarily, then permanently. Members of cliques wielding some influence in the community and others with some nuisance value have often been appeased by being invited to the *panchayat*, for this appeals to their sense of vanity. This recognition of their importance in some cases develops in them a greater sense of social responsibility.

The *panchayat* performs several important functions. It hears and decides minor disputes which do not ordinarily go to the courts of law, criminal or civil. It fixes the details of the ceremonies

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control. The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

According to the caste composition of the villages and existing social bonds between them, people belonging to one particular caste will have their own *panchayat* for a group of villages. Thus in the case of some castes ten to twenty villages have their own caste *panchayat*, while in the case of others thirty to forty villages together have a common council of this type. In some cases endogamous sub-castes have their own *panchayats*; but in many others the wider caste group comprising many sub-castes has a composite council of its own. Caste headmen representing each constituent village are the members of this council—although in actual practice other wealthy and influential, as well as vocal and assertive, persons also gradually come to occupy a seat in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste, as well as important intra-caste disputes, are heard and decided by these caste *panchayats*. Cases of divorce, failure in fulfilling agreements made before finalizing marriage arrangements, serious sexual lapses, and of breaches of the social norms of the caste, such as incest, breaches of the rules of endogamy and exogamy, eating forbidden food and pursuing a 'lower' occupation, etc., would be under the jurisdiction of such a caste *panchayat*. But it must be pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the powers and functions of the caste *panchayat* and the village *panchayat*. For example, when a serious case of incest comes to their notice both these *panchayats* take action independently. Similarly, if a person belonging to one of the Hindu castes kills a cow or is found to have eaten beef, simultaneous action is likely to be taken by both the *panchayats*. In general, however, it can be laid down that matters of a primarily local interest are brought to the village *panchayat*, while those having a bearing on specific caste customs fall under the jurisdiction of the caste *panchayat*. A large number of marginal disputes may be heard by either, and often the local tradition defines their respective jurisdictions. As the *panchayat* in Shamirpet is sufficiently aggressive it has arrogated to itself a considerably wide range of powers.

While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

623 692 *panchayat*. In this the elders of the two villages which are parties to the dispute as well as the elders from an agreed number of villages from the neighbourhood sit together, hear the dispute and give their verdict. Of course, they have no authority to enforce their decision, and these days such cases often go to the courts of law established by the government.

1. Dube E-5 (1351-52) 1355 AW17 Telugu AW17

476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 This system is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an ● 623 agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and 626 secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his younger and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the mores and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

Then	*Now*
178 596 (1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

178 II—CASTE

Then	*Now*
564 (1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy; some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

Then	*Now*
62 (1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

I: Dube E-8 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village discreetly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as

well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

26: Rao E-5 (1948-7) 1984 Govt India
Telugu AW 17

[p. 104]

CHAPTER IV

Structure and Working of Panchayats in Madras

Section I: Village Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position of Village Panchayats on the Eve of the Enquiry

602 623 The idea of reviving the age old Panchayats in Madras got a momentum from the time of the Royal Commission on Decentralization. A Committee called the Local Self Government Committee, composed of officials and non-officials, was appointed in 1882. As a result of the recommendations of this Committee, the Local Boards Act of 1884 was passed recognizing the village as the unit of administration and authorising the formation of village unions in villages of more than 3000 population and Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less with permissive powers and limited authority for taxation. But, these unions could not be very popular as there was a division of loyalties and conflict of jurisdictions. The people were reluctant to pay taxes, without adequate returns, while the unions continued to be mere tax-collecting agencies without providing any amenities like village sanitation or education. Their inability to provide any facilities raised doubts as to the ability of Panchayats or unions to hold their own. This made the task of the succeeding legislators extremely difficult. No definite action was taken on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization for a long time. In 1915, the Government of India resolution was passed favouring formation of Panchayats in selected areas with permissible powers and limited authority in matters of taxation. Unions were formed in villages with more than 3000 population and informal Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less. Still, the number of unions did not increase very much. By 1916-17, the number was only 464 and went up to 527 in 1920-21. As the unions had no tax collecting authority they had to depend on their abilities to persuade the villagers to pay them some taxes for undertaking any works of public benefit. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Local Boards gave them any contributions. In the contest of such discouraging circumstances all round, the unions could not make much headway. After the Montague

Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, the Local Self-Government became a provincial subject. The Madras Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920, with functions of 1. construction and maintenance of roads, villages and bridges, buildings. 2. lighting of streets; 3. construction of drains; 4. cleaning of streets, removing of prickly pear, construction of latrines, construction, maintenance and repair of burning and burial grounds; 5. sinking wells and making bathing ghats; 6. control of cattle stands, and thrashing floors; 7. Control of rest houses; 8. extension of village sites; 9 enforcement of vaccination; 10. registration of births and deaths; 11. maintenance of latrines; 12. construction of pounds; and 13. maintenance of other public utility services, delegated powers from Local Boards such as control over markets and cart-stands, control of fisheries, establishment and maintenance of village schools, provision of medical relief, etc. 642 623

As the legislation of 1920 was only an enabling one, and not a compulsory measure, village Panchayats could not make much headway. By the end of 1924-25, their number was only 579, but, later on they were able to make progress, because of the appointment of a Registrar-General of Panchayats. Mr. N. Gopalswami Iyengar was the first Registrar-General, and he was rightly regarded as the father of the modern Panchayat Movement in Madras. The development of Panchayats during this period had to depend mostly on the efforts of honorary organisers as there was no regular subordinate supervisory staff under the Registrar-General. This Act fixed the age limit of a voter at 25 and prescribed 7 to 15 members to a Panchayat. It did not provide for any reservation of seats to minorities or for ex-officio membership of the village officials. Even on the testimony of their administration reports there were no regular meetings in several Panchayats. Most of them had not even establishments of their own. Often, the President of the Panchayat used to do all the clerical work. But all the same, the period from 1920 to 1930 was considered to be the Golden Age of Panchayats in Madras. The number of Panchayats increased from 579 in 1924-25 to 4,479 in 1931-32. 691

There were certain inherent defects in the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1920, which hindered their progress. Functions like the removal of noxious plants from village sites, performance of kudimaramat work, distribution of water, the maintenance of watch over crops, sanitation and conservancy, repairs of drinking water services and provision of educational facilities, control over village artisans, etc. were entrusted to them (Sec. 12). But their 642 623 652

652 financial position was very precarious (Sec. 25). The Act did not
623 provide for any compulsory taxes, though many sources were
642 suggested. Most of the Panchayats depended on collections from marriages, kolagaram taxes, taxes on artisans and loans, oil-mills, factories, rice mills, market fees and collections from temporary stalls and festivals etc. No coercion in the matter of these collections was ever allowed. The Registrar-General of Panchayats was in charge of supervision and control of these bodies.

642 The position was changed in 1930 with the passing of the Madras
623 Local Boards Act. While the existing office of the Registrar-General of Panchayats was abolished, in its place the office of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was created with four Deputy Commissioners under him. For every district, a District Panchayat Officer and under him one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers were usually sanctioned.

A. Structure: With regard to the functions of the village Panchayat, there was no change. Even the electoral qualifications were the same as for the District Boards and Legislatures. Only the number of members was changed from 8 to 16 instead of from 7 to 15. But, even this had nothing to do with the proportion of local population in the village. Another change was the provision of reserve seats for Christians, Muslims and Harijans in the Panchayats. By section 49, a provision was made to supersede a Panchayat for one year or so, if its working was not satisfactory.

652 **B Finance**: There was some improvement with regard to the
651 resources of the Panchayat. From 1930, 1/6 of the land cess was granted to Panchayats and from 1934, the period of the abolition of the Taluka Boards, this was increased to 1/5. Besides this, there was provision for house tax, sales tax, profession tax, festival tax, Pilgrim tax, tax on cart-stands, bus stands, fishery rentals, grass sales proceeds, fees from public markets, slaughter houses, licences from D. N. O. trades, fairs and festivals, ferry rentals, warrant and destraint fees, magisterial fines, fines for encroachment, fees from Public Resort Act, Food Adulteration Act, Town Nuisance Act, as extended from the District Municipalities Act, etc. (Vide Schedule 4 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930). To these later on, were added the entertainment tax, stamp duties, registration surcharges, income from usufruct of avenues, scavenging fees, grants-in-aid of education, public health, medical help, libraries, water supply, and public works. For long time the land cess remained to

be the main source of income to Local Boards, mainly the District Boards and Panchayats. 652 651

Besides these, there were other non-tax receipts like fees for choultries, scavenging rates, rates on threshing floors, sale proceeds of rubbish, sweeping, manure, grass on tank beds, and vezel, duties on harvested fields, fisheries, silt in the river bed, etc. The village annual fund called "Samudayam" existed in the Tamil Villages. Then there were special taxes like Kolagram or Mahimai for measurement, Kudi maramat for irrigation purposes, octroi and sales tax of 5% on commodities, brought and sold in the village.

C. Functions: These were: 1. obligatory and 2. optional. 623 ●
(Sections 112, 115 and 121).

Obligatory: The obligatory functions of the Panchayats were mentioned in Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930. They were: (a) the construction and maintenance of public roads within the limits of the village other than the portion of the district, (a) the establishment and maintenance of choultries within the limits of the village, (b) the lighting of all public roads and public places, (c) the opening and maintenance of libraries, (d) the construction of drains and disposal of drainage water and sewage, (e) the cleansing of streets, the removal of rubbish heaps, jungle growth and prickly-pear, the filling in of unused wells, insanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the village, (f) the provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse latrines whether public or private, (g) the opening and maintenance of burial and burning grounds, (h) the sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks for supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes and the construction of bathing ghats, (i) the opening and maintenance of a public slaughter house, (j) the opening and maintenance of public markets, other than classified as District Board markets, (k) the control of fairs and festivals other than fairs and festivals of the District Boards, serving the needs of an area wider than the village, which were classified as fairs and festivals, (l) the opening and maintenance of centres of physical culture, and (m) the opening and maintenance of parks.

Optional Duties: These were: (a) the planting and preservation of avenues on all public roads in the village not being district roads, (b) the opening and maintenance of public latrines, urinals, etc., at places of cart-stands, (c) the control of

623 threshing floors, topes, and other property used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control:** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions :— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. 623 642 624 641 651

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honotary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. 622

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

PART II

Facts Revealed by the Survey

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The Village Panchayats were in the grades according to their annual income. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, which were collectively called major Panchayats, had their annual income between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 30,000; between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000; and between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. Minor Panchayats had their annual income of Rs. 5,000 or less.

The villages selected for inquiry were the following :—

(1) Anantpur District :—Brahmanayeleru; Bukkapatnam; Bukkarayasamudram; Dharmavaram, Gooty, Gorantala, Guntakal, Kadiri, Konakundal, Lepakshi, Penu Konda.

(2) East Godavari District :—Alamuru; Amalapuram, Avidi, Balantram, Bodasakurru, Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Mandapeta, Palivela, Pulletikurru, Ramchandrapuram, Razole, Tuni, Valluru, Venkatayapalem, Yeditha.

(3) West Godavari District :—Achanta, Akividu, Aravalli, Attili, Bhimavaram, Ganapavaram, Gogoti, Inaparru, Itempudi, Kandavilli, Kovvur, Mukkamala, Narsapur, Nidadavol, Peatapadu, Penukonda, Palakoderu, Pittala Vomavaram, Tadepalligudam, Tanuku, Undi, Vasadi, Velpur.

(4) Kishna District :—Gudur, Jaggayapet, Kantaram, Nuzvid, Pamaru, Pedana, Vuyyuru.

(5) Kurnool District :—Betamcherla, Dhone, Gudur, Joharapuram, Kallur, Maddikera, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda, Veldurti.

(6) Vizagapatam District :—Bayyavaram, Bhogapuram, Bobbili, Chodavaram, Chodavada, Gokavaram, Govada, K. Jagannadhapur, Kasimkot, Kothavalasa, Madugula, Parvatipuram, Pedabogila, Salur, Sitanagaram, Vadada, Yellamanchili.

(7) Bellary District :—Kampli, Muddapur, Rayadrug.

The first six districts now form the part of the newly created State of Andhra and the last, of the Mysore State.

A. Structure : (Table No. 18)

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Number of Members in the Panchayats : According to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930, the minimum and maximum number of members for Panchayats were 8 and 16, but, these numbers were not based on any proportion to population. There was no uniformity of procedure in each grade or among the several grades in any district. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same type in every district, as well as in the Panchayats of the several districts. Among the first grade Panchayats, while Tuni in East Godavari with a population of 13,053 had 16, Guntakal in Anantpur with its population of 36,000 had the same number; in West Godavari, Panchayats like Bhimavaram and Narsapur with 32,000 and 30,000 population respectively had only 12 and 14 members respectively. Similarly among the second grade Panchayats, there was a difference in the number of members in the Panchayats of the same district as for instance. Ramachandrapuram and Mandapeta which had 14 and 16 members respectively with their local populations of 12,868 and 13,010 in each. The same disparity in number of members which bore no proportion to the local population of the Panchayats was revealed to be the universal feature of all third grade and minor Panchayats too.

Reserved Seats : Reserved seats had been provided in all the four types of Panchayats, for depressed classes, Muslims and Christians, but, all the three seats were not compulsorily reserved in every Panchayat. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat according to the proportion of that particular community in the local population. For instance while Tuni in the 1st grade, had reserved seats for depressed class communities and Christians, there was no reserve seat for Muslims; while in West Godavari, Bhimavaram had reserved seats for Christians and Muslims; Narsapur had reserved seats for all the three Communities. Similarly in the 2nd grade, 3rd grade and minor Panchayats, the practice varied from Panchayat to Panchayat.

Ex-officio Members : It was absent in the Panchayats in the Madras Presidency. Though this had been incorporated in the Panchayat Bill of 1941, it had been dropped from the Madras Panchayat Act of 1946, which did not come into force at the time of this inquiry.

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Women Members : There were no women members in the Madras Panchayats. There was no provision for reservation of seats

623 562 for them as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act. As such, few women came forward to contest in the Panchayat elections.

666 **Method of Election** : Method of election was by ballot in all the major Panchayats. Even in minor Panchayats, the elections were revealed to be by ballot as in Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Avidi and by show of hands in Panchayats like Bodasakurru, Yeditha and Alamuru in East Godavari. But, in the majority of minor Panchayats, election was only by show of hands.

623 **Wards and Hamlets** : Representation of members by the several wards in the Panchayat and inclusion of several neighbouring hamlets in the Panchayat jurisdiction were revealed to be the universal features in all the Panchayats surveyed, irrespective of the grade to which they belonged. This revealed, the existence of a fair representative system of Panchayat membership from the several wards and hamlets.

667 **Caste Composition of the Panchayats** : It was revealed to be predominantly Non-Brahmins, in every district and in every grade.

Casual Vacant Seats : Casual vacancies arising in the major or minor Panchayats were generally intimated to the District Panchayat Officer, who on receipt of information went to conduct fresh elections for the seats. But, during the course of the survey some instances came to light, where such intimations were not duly given to the District Panchayat Officer and where consequetly no fresh elections were held.

One Village-One Panchayat : This was the basis which was usually followed, but, there were also instances where joint Panchayats were found to be working well as in East Godavari and Kistna.

Supersession versus Nomination of Panchayat : Election versus nomination of the members of the Panchayats was a controversy that held the ground for a very long time in the discussions of the reform of Local Self-Government in Madras. Even in the Madras Panchayats Bill of 1941, it was contended that a nominated Panchayat was better than an elected one to eliminate friction, where there were contending parties in a village. The period of such bodies to be in power was from 1 to 3 years. This was a time when the Panchayat had to be dissolved for mal-administration and when a special officer had to be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the village. In practice, Panchayats when they proved unworkable were only superseded. They were not run by nominated members.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4 to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above: they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

650 50 gross Rs. 4. In Narsapur Panchayat (West Godavari), the rates of license fees were according to each type of process, e. g. for boiling paddy Rs. 20, storing paddy Rs. 10, and for storing and selling rice Rs. 10. In some Panchayats the articles stored and sold were charged license fees according to the number of bags or the floor area occupied in the godown, e. g. in Madugula Panchayat the rates for storing of grain bags were for bags from 1 to 10 Rs. 3, from 10 to 50 bags Rs. 5, 50 to 100 bags Rs. 7-8-0, from 100 to 1000 bags, Rs. 10, from 1000 to 2000 bags Rs. 12-8-0, and above 2000 bags Rs. 15. In Parvatipuram Panchayat in the same district, the rate was Re. 0-2-0 for 5 sq. feet. Again in Bhimavaram and Kovvur Panchayats in West Godavari, a license fee of Rs. 5 was charged for crushing seeds or making vegetable oils. In Bhimavaram separate fees were charged for street coffee vendors at Rs. 2-8-0 per annum and street sweetmeats vendors at Rs. 2 per annum. Narsapur Panchayat was found to be charging a license fee of Rs. 15 for refining gold. Tanuku Panchayat was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 for storing mango plants. In Attili Panchayat rice shops were charged on classwise basis i. e. 1st class Rs. 5 and 2nd class Rs. 4 but no clear indication was available as to the basis of this distinction. License fees were collected from wholesale shops, retail shops and ration shops too and they were also subject to the same variation as in the case of other instances. Ganapavaram Panchayat in West Godavari District was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 per ration shop, Alagadde Rs. 12 for a retail shop and Rs. 25 for a wholesale shop. Kasba Jagganadhapuram in Vizagapatam was charging Rs. 12 for a wholesale shop and Rs. 3 for a retail shop. The rates for electrical power installation and steam engines too varied between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat, e. g. in Parvatipuram the license fee for steam engine per horse power installation was Rs. 6 while in Akividu the rate was Rs. 60 per annum for oil engine of 24 horse power.

Thus, though the license fees were a veritable goldmine to the Madras Panchayats a lot of spade work was essential by way of framing an exhaustive list of trades and callings on which they were to be collected and fixation of uniform rates and basis on which they were to be fixed up, if the present evils of wide disparities in items and dissimilarities in their rates were to be eliminated.

C. Functions

623 652 **Grades of Panchayats:** From 1944 all the Panchayats were classified into 3 grades as the 1st grade Panchayats were those with an

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

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647 Panchayat : while the Panchayat wanted to dominate them the
623 executive officers placed themselves too high above the Panchayat
578 and regarded themselves sometimes as fallen angels. There were several instances, where the Boards tried to harass the executive officers and the executive officers tried in return to take vengeance on them.

Obligatory and Optional Functions of the Panchayats: The administrative functions of the Panchayats were divided into two types obligatory and optional. The obligatory functions included : public works, maintenance and construction of culverts, bridges and roads, burning and burial grounds, provision of water supply, parks, library and newspapers, lighting, public health and conservancy, slaughter houses, managements of fairs and festivals. While the optional functions were plantation of trees, provision of radio, arrangements with regard to infectious diseases, medical relief and donation, etc. Very often the funds of the Panchayats were spent to a large extent on salaries, office contingencies, dearness allowance, and travelling allowance, with little left over for discharging duties either obligatory or optional. (vide Table No. 20)

Public Works : The arrangements made by the village Panchayats for the construction and maintenance of roads, water tanks, sluices, channels and buildings constituted some of the important items of public works. In most of the villages in South India, provision of water supply and systematic arrangements with regard to maintenance of tanks and distribution of water to fields and settling of disputes arising out of it, were considered to be the functions of the village Panchayats. This was done by the contribution of communal labour according to which every resident of the community was to contribute his share to the maintenance of local public works. Employment of compulsory forced labour for execution of public works like tanks, canals, buildings and roads was a time-honoured custom in South India which continued even today.

Construction of roads and tanks was done by the employment of paid labour alone. But the Panchayats were not at liberty to undertake any work they liked. The Panchayats were generally authorised to undertake public works upto Rs. 250 without the necessity of the sanction of the higher authorities.

Some of the major Panchayats in the Circars and Nellore District had their own overseers and staff like the mistry on their establishment, paid them from their funds and got their works exe-

Table of Expenditure in Kadiri on Car Festival. 543

1	Removal of rank vegetation in the tank	..	Rs.	10	0 0
2	Cost of 15 buckets and 20 ropes	...	..	65	0 0
3	Cost of water pendals	...	..	16	0 0
4	Cost of pots and tumblers	...	..	62	0 0
5	Cost of public latrines	...	..	260	0 0
6	Isolation shed	...	..	20	0 0
7	Street watering by coolies for 6 days	...	..	30	0 0
8	Temporary menials for 14 days	...	..	72	0 0
	.. .. 8 for 5 days	...	..	40	0 0
	.. .. 6 .. 14 days	...	..	106	0 0
	.. .. 8 .. 5 days	...	..	50	0 0
9	Sanitary peons 2 for 15 days	...	..	48	0 0
10	Drain cleaners 2 for 5 days	...	..	30	0 0
11	Sanitary peons 2 for 5 days	...	..	15	0 0
12	Disinfection coolies 2 for 10 days	...	..	30	0 0
13	Baskets	...	..	25	0 0
14	Sand	...	..	30	0 0
15	Entrance, Lights, etc.	...	..	40	0 0
16	Miscellaneous	...	..	60	0 0
			Rs.	1062	0 0

In West Godavari, Velpur, Attili and Achanta Panchayats; in Kistna, Vuyyuru; in Vizagapatam Madugula and Bobbili; in Anantapur, Gooty, Madakasira, Bukkapatnam and Pamidi; and in Kurnool, along with Chembur, Gudur, Koilkuntla, Kadumunur, Markapur, Maddikera and Nandikotkur were some of the major Panchayats which were managing fairs and festivals in their areas.

Optional Duties of the Panchayats: Plantation of trees, maintenance of cart and bus stands, providing radio, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, collecting donations and catering to welfare activities were among the optional duties of Panchayats in Madras. 623

Plantation of Trees: While most of the major Panchayats in every district were paying some attention to this function, the 3rd grade and minor Panchayats needed greater stimulus. While Razole Panchayat in East Godavari had not done anything, Velpur, Achanta, Ganapavaram, and Tadepalligudam in West Godavari; Parvatipuram, Bobbili and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, and Maddikera in Kurnool were the solitary instances of the 3rd grade Panchayats which had undertaken this function. 367

Rajhas had donated maternity wards in the hospitals situated in the Panchayat areas. 743

Donations: Some Panchayats patronised education by contributing funds; for instance, Bhimavaram in West Godavari planned to give Rs. 5,000 annually to the local college. Salur Panchayat in Kurnool was giving Rs. 500 to a school for blind. 658

Sundry Expenses: Besides these, there were separate funds set apart in every Panchayat for public amenities, law-charges, election expenses, office contingencies, dearness allowance, travelling allowance and salaries of the establishment, etc. 652

Meetings of Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act, every Panchayat should meet at least once a month to transact business and if for three months no meeting was held, the Panchayat would cease to exist or if a member remained continuously absent for three months, he was to be invalidated, though he could seek re-election 623

Name of the Village	Total No. of Meetings	Ordinary	Extra-ordinary	Percentage of Attendance	Adjourned for want of quorm
Amalapuram	17	17	...	...	...
Tuni	18	13	5	...	...
Bhimavaram	25	12	13	...	6
Narsapur	19	19	...	42	5
Ramchandrapuram	24	24	...	50	...
Jaggayapeta	12	12	...	50	...
Kadiri	16	10	6	50	...
Dharmavaram	17	17	...	42	7
Nuzvid	12	12	...	50	...
Achanta	12	12	...	poor	...
Pedana	12	12	...	50	...
Parvatipuram	13	13	...	52	...
Pamaru	12	12	...	34	...
Nandikotkur	12	12	...	34	...
Pattikonda	12	12	...	50	...
Maddikera	12	12	...	20	6
Vuyyuru	12	12	...	80	...
Akividu	12	10	2	50	2
Bukkapatnam	15	15	...	50	...
Penu Konda	16	16	...	66	...

The meetings of the Panchayat are important from the view point of their deliberations, for these formulate the work of Panchayats.

26 Rao E-5 - (1946-7) 1954 AWI India

623 **Meetings and Attendance**: Above table brings out the nature of Panchayat meetings and its interest in administrative work. The Panchayat meetings form an index of their importance in administrative activities. Even in major Panchayats, the civic consciousness and sense of responsibility among the Panchayat members did not appear to be quite satisfactory. The attendance in most instances was hardly more than 50 per cent and in the majority, not even that much. Very often Panchayats had to carry on their transactions with a bare quorum. Instances where attendance was more than 60 per cent were rare. This was a poor index of their sense of local responsibility. To expect them in the face of these facts to become nurseries of democratic traditions and administrative experience appeared to be a very ambitious dream.

The Panchayat members should of course be given 3 clear day's notice, but, even when they got advance intimation, they rarely attended. There were instances of Panchayats in East Godavari and Anantpur Districts where meetings were not held for months and yet neither they were superseded nor any effective action was taken against them in spite of the provision of the Madras Local Boards Act.

If that was the state of affairs in the major Panchayats, the situation in minor Panchayats could not naturally be expected to be better. There were usually party factions, village politics, group pressures, communal rivalries and these rent the village unity to a hundred shreds.

623 687 Superseded Panchayat Boards were also examined during the course of the investigation. The reasons for superseding a Panchayat might be any one of the following: village factions, party politics, abstention from meetings, opposition to taxation, nepotism in appointments, misappropriation of public funds, harassing executive officers or other public servants, committing frauds, writing off the proper dues of Panchayats, allowing unauthorised exemption of taxtion, lower assessments and discriminatory policies towards favourites, leaving the taxes in large arrears without ever bothering to collect them, and several other unhappy practices by which, the running of administration of the Panchayat by the same body appeared to be pregnant with disaster. Such a Panchayat was superseded and a special officer was appointed to look after it for a period of one year.

Neither the grade of the Panchayat nor its previous record saved it from supersession, when it reached a stage of serious deterioration.

The supersession period was normally one year and sometimes one and a half years. Many of the irregular Panchayats were superseded more than once. 623 687

A few samples taken in the survey would illustrate the circumstances under which Panchayats were usually superseded. We shall review only a few cases as Tuni in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Kantaram in Kistna, Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Gooty, Dharmavaram and Gorantala in Anantapur, as instances of superseded Boards.

Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari was once superseded for its wanton neglect of taxation and collection of arrears in 1939. 651 623 687

	Current Demand	Arrears
	Rs.	Rs.
License Fees	...	103—0—0
House Tax	3587—4—0	138—0—0
Profession Tax	226-14-0	75-12—0
Public Scavenging Fees	302—1-0	...
Markets	38—4-0	3944-14—3
Cart Stands	1119-10-0	2224—5—0
Slaughter House	92—0-0	247—6—8
Sale of Rubbish	...	76—0—0
Total	5266—1-0	8809—5-11

No coercive steps were ever taken by the Panchayat to collect this money. On the other hand these dues were written off without the consent the District Board. The Panchayat had also executed works of gravelling 7 roads in undue haste. Sanitation was neglected awfully. As a result the Board was superseded.

One Panchayat in West Godavari proved to be a notorious example of village factions. When the previous President of the Panchayat died, another came in his place, but the party of the dead President began to oppose every resolution. When the new one was thrown out and a member of the opposition party was elected, they in turn repeated the same thing in vengeance, and consequently no work could be done. Roads which were said to have been executed were proved as never laid down. Some of the lands acquired in the name of the Panchayat were misappropriated. Inspite of all the instructions from the Inspector of Local Boards and the District Panchayat Officer, the Panchayat refused to carry out their orders. Influential majority of population of the village exerted much pressure to see that the 623 518 687

623 Panchayat would not work under any circumstances. Ultimately it
578 was superseded.

687 In Kistna District there was a parallel instance. In one Panchayat three Presidents came in power in quick succession. When the President who was in office for 4 year resigned the Vice-President became the President. But he was thrown out and another was elected and during his term of office, the Panchayat was superseded. The cause of conflict was strong party factions. The difficulty was only one party in the village was returned into power while the other parties remained outside. So the members within the Panchayat tried to wreck it and ultimately the Board was superseded.

In Vizagapatam one Panchayat met on its own accord and began to cancel a resolution which it had passed permitting taxation on sugar pans, etc. Immediately when it was detected, the Board was superseded and a special officer was appointed, under whom the financial position had considerably improved.

Anantapur District had similar instances of Panchayats which were opposed to taxation, full of party factions, negligent in work and highly litigious. In one instance, the President of the Ex-Taluk Board was a member of the Panchayat and he was in the minority party. In the contest for the Presidential election for the Panchayat, the man from the majority party became successful. As the minority party wanted to pull down the party in power, they refused to pass the administration report, turned petromax lights to kerosene oil lights in the name of the public good and opposed vehemently any taxation The machine of the water pump system was spoiled. So the Inspector of Local Boards requested the Panchayat to add a surcharge of 12% to the house tax and provide themselves with this badly needed facility for which Government and District
687 Board gave donations. Yet the Board persisted in opposing for six
661 months postponing meetings for want of quorum, when it was finally superseded. Another minor Panchayat in Anantapur was superseded because the President and members under-assessed their houses and those of their relations.

These were instances of Panchayats getting annually an income of Rs. 200,000 where the engineer drew a much higher salary than the executive officer, but technically was a sub-ordinate to him.

623 The special officer who was put in charge was expected to bring about a uniform development in the administration of the Panchayat. He had powers to enforce fresh taxation, collect arrears and execute

schemes of administration which were conducive to social welfare in the local areas and when once the Panchayat was rehabilitated, fresh elections were held and it was given over to the new Board. This supersession of the working of the village body by its own elected representation was considered to be a punishment for the village which did not play fair with the functions entrusted to it.

Audit of the Panchayat Boards: The major Panchayats were audited once in a year by the lower grade sub-ordinate staff of the Accountant General's Office, while the minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers. But the inadequacy of audit staff left the position of acounts in a very unsatisfactory state.

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the working of the village Panchayats. Usually there was one District Panchayat Officer with one or two assistants under him in each district. As they had to do in addition to supervision, inspection work regarding elections and propaganda also, the time left at their disposal for Panchayat supervision was not much with the result several Panchayats remained uninspected for a long time.

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: The classification with regard to the grades of Panchayats was not systematic. Panchayats which for long ceased to be in the 3rd grade and could be placed in the 2nd grade and the 2nd to 1st grade were not changed but were retained in their old grades. No attempt was ever made to regularise this procedure. There was also no proportion between the population of the Panchayats and their membership. The provision of the seats for the depressed classes, Harijans and Muslims was strictly in accordance with the proportion to their population. Women members were totally absent. Ex-officio membership of the Munsif was provided but later on was eliminated on the pretext that his co-option on the Panchayat might intensify village politics. This did not appear to be justifiable because his elimination from the Panchayat meant the loss of his useful services and those of his hereditary servants. Devoid of any share in Panchayat administration the village officials just did the revenue and police work entrusted to them and remained outside the current day to day administration of the village. The salaries paid to them and to their hereditary servants were very unattractive. Besides the Inams they

642 623 had, they got usally no other remuneration. Still they continued to do the village watch and ward and police work too. In view of the declining importance given to them so far, they had to be properly readjusted in the new village set up. The method of election in the major Panchayats was by ballot, but in the minor Panchayats election by show of hands was the practice in the majority of cases. Representation by wards or hamlets was in existence only in some of the Panchayats, but to avoid village conflicts the system was highly desired by most of them. Panchayats were not found in all villages which were fit to be Panchayats as their formation was not compulsory according to the statute. Cast composition of the Panchayats was predominently Non-Brahmins. There appeared to be some difficulty in filling up the casual vacancies as no regular reports were sent to the Panchayat Officer. One Panchayat in one village seems to be a better practice though no difficulty was seen even in the working of Joint Panchayats. Election versus nomination of members in the matter of superseded Panchayats was for long a matter of controversy; some like Mr. K. Jayaraman (in A study of Madras Panchayats) upholding a nominated Panchayat and others holding a fresh election to the Panchayat to be a better solution. Instead of these two, the best thing appears to be to leave the matter in the hands of an administrator for sometime. As the nominated bodies would not be expected to look to the daily administrative work of the Panchayats, it is a relief that executive officers are appointed to these Panchayats.

The different village authorities like the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Court, the Panchayat School, the Irrigation and Forest Panchayats worked with separate constitutions under the control of separate authorities. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether all functions cannot be entrusted to a single Panchayat with expanded membership and more sub-committees to look after these different functions.

Again as there is no statutory obligation for the creation of Panchayats for a village of a fixed population as in Bombay, their progress stands to be slow.

651 **B. Finance**: The revenues at the disposal of the Madras Panchayats were more in comparison to those at the disposal of Panchayats in other States.

The share of the local fund cess distribution to the Panchayats was not based on any scientific basis; a Village Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got more, while a Panchayat in a dry

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ½th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because, even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that, make life impossible for him. His statutary position is such that he cannot stear clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instances where the executive officers had run-away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a deal-lock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in a town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sa'. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 625

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, District Collectors and the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils through four Divisional Inspectors, District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the work and controlled the administration of the Village Panchayats. But in practice the supervision and control exercised appeared to be very superficial. The dual control of the District Board and the District Collector led to much confusion. Even the Panchayat budgets were never properly scrutinised with the result that they went on accumulating heavy opening balances as if there was no work they could undertake, thus allowing their administration to deteriorate. The District Panchayat Officers, with hardly one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers under them, could not naturally inspect all the Panchayats at least once in a year. Without increasing the number of supervisory staff and avoiding the defects of dual control, better and effective supervision of the Panchayats could not be envisaged.

While the accounts of the Minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers, those of the Major Panchayats were audited annually by the Local Audit Department. But the introduction of auditing the accounts had not effectively improved the Panchayats and the audit remarks were never properly implemented by them as their failure to do so was not often met with any punishment.

Table No. 18—Constitutional Aspects of the Village Panchayats in Madras

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats				Ex-officio Members†	Method of Voting‡	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kammas	Telugas	Lingayats	Weavers	Komatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
							Muslims	Christians	Harijans	Women																		
1	Amalapuram	E. Godavari	1890	I	30000	16	2	...	1	...	...	B	2	...	6	...	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	14
2	Tuni	,,	1883	I	13053	15	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
3	Bhimavaram	W. Godavari	1892	I	32000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9
4	Narsapur	,,	1894	I	30000	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
5	Guntakal	Anantapur	1916	I	36000	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
6	Mandapeta	E. Godavari	1891	II	13010	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	9
7	Ramachandrapuram	,,	1894	II	12868	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	11
8	Tadepalligudam	W. Godavari	1932	II	12000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
9	Tanuku	,,	1894	II	15000	15	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	2	5	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
10	Nidadavol	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Vuyyuru	Kistna	1894	II	10000	8	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	3	...	4	9
12	Nuzvid	,,	...	II	14000	15	2	1	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	3	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
13	Jaggayapeta	,,	1896	II	12000	16	1	1	...	...	...	B	2	1	5	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
14	Kovvur	W. Godavari	1869	II	9933	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
15	Velpur	,,	1918	III	10046	13	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	3	11
16	Attili	,,	1894	,,	9811	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
17	Uddi	,,	1919	,,	6383	9	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	2	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	8
18	Akividu	,,	1895	,,	9872	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	1	8
19	Achanta	,,	1884	,,	15000	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	10
20	Penukonda	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	Peatapadu	,,	1894	,,	7931	9	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	8
22	Ganapavaram	,,	...	,,	8000	11	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
23	Razole	E. Godavari	1914	,,	5897	11	1	...	1	...	...	B	4	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	7
24	Gudur	Kistna	1917	,,	4810	10	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	1	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	8
25	Pedana	,,	1890	,,	10000	16	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	14
26	Kantaram	,,	1917	,,	4600	11	...	...	...	...	8	O	b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	9
27	Pamaru	,,	1894	,,	10000	14	1	...	...	...	...	B	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	1	3	...	...	...	7	6

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(*Table No. 18—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats: Muslims	Reserve Seats: Christians	Reserve Seats: Harijans	Reserve Seats: Women	Ex-officio Members	Method of Voting	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kommas	Telugas	Lingayats	Weavers	Komatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
28	Parvatipuram	Visagapatam	1937	III	20000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13
29	Bobbili	"	1936	"	21670	16	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	3	3	...	3	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
30	Salur	"	"	"	20880	16	1	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	14
31	Madugula	"	"	"	8364	11	...	...	...	...	...	E	4	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	9
32	Chodavaram	"	"	"	11341	13	...	...	1	...	...	E	4	2	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	12
33	Kasimkot	"	1937	"	8000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
34	Yellamanchili	"	"	"	14078	13	1	1	1	...	...	E	2	2	1	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	4	13
35	Dharmavaram	Anantapur	1936	"	16000	13	1	1	...	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
36	Kadiri	"	...	"	16033	14	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
37	Gooty	"	1938	"	15000	16	1	1	2	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
38	Penu Konda	"	1936	"	5906	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	4	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	3	11
39	Dhone	Kurnool	1936	"	15000	11	1	1	...	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	...	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
40	Nandikotkur	"	1934	"	10000	11	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
41	Pattikonda	"	1934	"	10000	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
42	Maddikera	"	1932	"	10600	14	1	...	1	...	...	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
43	Kampli	Bellary	1936	"	7891	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
44	Rayadrug	"	1936	"	15560	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	2	...	1	1	2	4	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	Valluru	E. Godavari	1939	Minor	3000	11	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
46	Alamuru	"	1924	"	3000	11	...	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
47	Yeditha	"	1933	"	8000	16	...	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	7	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	Kapileswarapuram	"	1937	"	8000	15	1	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	7	3	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	14
49	Palivela	"	1940	"	1500	11	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50	Avidi	"	1939	"	2000	13	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51	Bodasakurru	"	"	"	4800	15	...	...	3	...	...	E	3	...	3	4	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	Kothapeta	"	1934	"	12000	9	...	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Pulletikurru	"	...	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	Balantram	"	...	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

Village administration.—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

Sanitary administration.—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

Crime.—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is